1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakachu* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *aukafe wentru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakucha*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakachu* may also be known as *walumraki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 244) identified as *Paspalum vaginatum* Sw.; family Gramineae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

wenumapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[2] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyülchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyülchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyülchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[3] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[4] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche,

[2] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[3] The Spanish term is *patagua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[4] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother MAYE
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either 846
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is [278]
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her
to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant 854
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it whole-
heartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough
to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for [278]
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the
juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will
either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and
forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant
admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually
perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform 852
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the 854
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the
baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet,
and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant,
praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks 846
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully re-
covered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the
leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus an-
nounced her recovery are her other young offspring free to
see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to [784]
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to
be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so
enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes.
No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations. [833]
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels
that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Boldoa fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

consist of baby animals of the child's own sex. Thus a boy may receive a male colt, calf, or lamb. These are herded with the family's livestock until the child is old enough to look after them himself.

For children other than the first any relative or neighbor (neighbors are likely to be relatives), may act as name giver. Anyone who wants to serve in this capacity may ask if an infant has yet been named. If it has not, he has only to hold the child and announce its name, usually the same as his own, before witnesses. In cases of this sort, the bestowal of gifts is entirely optional, and the godparent incurs no obligation whatsoever.

Formerly, an infant spent the first year or so of its life strapped in a cradleboard, *kupulwe*, but the custom is no longer universal. The Araucanian cradleboard (Pl. II, Fig. 2) is made with a sort of visor to protect the child from the sun, for too much sunlight is believed to cause freckling and cross-eyes. A child is swaddled in soft cloth and then fastened in place with soft leather thongs, in preference to string or cord. Tiny infants are very rarely left alone. Most often they are carried along by the mother wherever she goes, and the cradleboard is placed beside the mother's bed so that she may attend to the child's needs if it cries at night.

Neither weaning nor toilet training follows a rigid pattern. Parents may exert a little pressure in these matters, but on the whole a small child is allowed to follow its own inclinations. The nursing period does not seem to be unduly prolonged,[16] and while a baby is being weaned, it gradually begins to eat the same foods as adults. As to toilet habits, children are taught to defecate out of doors, but they learn to urinate into a small pottery jar, *metawe*, kept within the *ruka*.[17] Each morning the chamber pot is emptied into a larger pottery vessel, kept out-

[16] No instances of suckling up to the age when all the teeth are cut were observed, although such cases are reported in the literature. See Latcham, 1909, p. 360.

[17] Grown women may continue to use chamber pots indoors, especially when the weather is bad, but men generally go outdoors. At a public ceremony in Malalche a man paused to urinate unashamedly in full view of a large number of spectators.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

863 side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap,"
●[278 or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a *ruka*
326] are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

854 Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing
515 in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer
863 to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[18]

856 When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[19]

855 As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numer-
757 ous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l·awen*, and two of the most popular items are *piukel·awen*[20] ("heart-medicine"), and *liq-l·awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinoa, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[18] Several informants confirmed the uses of urine as here given. Those who
[824] do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kūl·a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chusquea* spec.

[19] Housse, 1939, p. 255. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1933, pp. 714–15.

[20] Augusta (1916, I: 185) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself. 723 [704]

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namuntu lince*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitrahue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses. 411 [278]

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front. 725

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pit-falls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted. 712

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruleuvun* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sang songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes. 727

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it at once, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Colluripe area a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with fumes.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 733) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, an act called kofrun.

Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than 10; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the late cacique of Colluripe area died, at about the age of 100, his youngest child was 6 years old.

Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often 10 or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

The number of children in families in areas under my observation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was *25; the youngest, 1 year and 9 months.* One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted. 162

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka." 843 [805]

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people." [166]

ABORTION

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the sting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gusinde lists 847 [849] [270]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—kneels behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is given a decoction made by boiling silvestre salvia, linaza, sanguinaria, and karûl'awen, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings none with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of ŋalaŋalau, a plant found in brooks.

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult deliveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 732). Quoting a Coñaripe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after labor pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil flaxseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (Cf. pp. 115-121 for performances of machitun.)

During the present study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive.

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

down her throat—this will cause her to eject the placenta. If gagging is not effective, she is made to vomit by giving her a large drink of lukewarm water mixed with salt and urine.

The secundines, including the placenta, are "companions" of the child. Immediately after delivery they are folded into the material on which the mother knelt during delivery and buried in the ruka either below the spot where the child was born or near the fireplace. This is true for all areas except Panguipulli. Usually the child's father buries them; sometimes an older sister of the child does so because the father may be busy. Several informants knew that very recently, on a few occasions, the secundines had been buried outside the ruka, "but that was taking great risks. Some harm can be expected to come to the mother; indeed, she may take very sick because of it. Or dogs may dig them up. Dogs are not allowed to eat the secundines—they are a part of man!" In Panguipulli area a boy's secundines were buried in a hole near the fireplace, but a girl's were buried out-of-doors under a chupón. It is known that dogs will not dig under a chupón because of its sharp needles.

No informant knew of an Araucanian child that had been born with a caul. "I am sure if one were so born, the midwife would tear off the skin and throw it in with the secundines. Nobody would pay any attention to it."

STERILIZING EYES OF NEWBORN BABY

On the day of birth, or the following day, the baby's eyes are treated with the sap of a plant. Quoting a Panguipulli man: "You will not find a blind Mapuche. This is because the midwife or whoever helps a woman deliver her child squeezes the sap of a plant we call llumüelka [unidentified] [4] into the child's eyes. It removes the mucus from the eye. Usually she does so immediately after the child is born, but it can be done with good effect the day following. It takes away that skin that is over the child's eye. I do not believe the Chileans use it; at least I have never heard them tell. And there are blind Chileans. The plant grows in damp ground."

[4] When translated, llumüelka means to keep from being a blind person. The writer was unable to identify the plant under that name. An Araucanian teacher in Collaripe identified a specimen the Panguipulli informant brought as korekore. Félix José (1916, vol. 1, p. 95) gives the botanical classification of korekore as *Geranium corecore* Steud., fam. Geraniaceae, and the Spanish equivalent as corecore. In La salud por medio de las plantas medicinales (Anonymous, 1929) corecore is classified as *Geranium berteroanum*.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FIRST CLOTHES

In the early days a little girl who had learned proper toilet habits was dressed in clothes modeled on those worn by adult women (cf. pp. 223-224). The chamall used was either woven especially for her or cut from an old one. Until a little boy learned proper toilet habits he was dressed in a skirtlike diaper as were girls. After that he wore his chamall like a man's chiripa, that is, drawn forward between the legs and tucked under a belt. He also wore a poncho, "just like grown-up men do." At present an occasional child is dressed as formerly, but most children are dressed in modern clothes like Chilean children. Rarely does a child have a hat or shoes, even today; formerly all were bareheaded and barefooted.

NURSING, WEANING

Before the baby's first nursing, the midwife, or, in her absence, someone else who knows how, pokes a finger down its throat and then pours into it the juice of a leaf of paico or a teaspoonful of a concentrated decoction of a leaf of paico. The leaf is heated near the fire and its sap squeezed out by hand. The baby will gag and throw up the phlegm that has been in its throat. The baby is nursed for the first time when the mother returns from her bath.

If the mother has no milk flow after delivery, she is given the sap of the root of ñil in water gotten from flowing water, usually a spring. She drinks of this mixture two or three times and also washes her breasts with it. She eats no special foods to cause an increase in milk flow, but she does eat larger quantities of available foods, especially toasted wheat and roasted corn. These cereals, generally mixed with warm water, she eats alternately in warm and cold water, the belief being that if eaten in warm water only they will make the baby hot.

The child is nursed whenever it cries. "The mother knows that it is hungry then." It is given both breasts at each nursing and is nursed "until it wants no more." If a baby persists in crying after it is nursed, or cries and refuses to nurse, it is thought to be sick. Relief is then sought from an herbalist, a specialist. General household remedies do not seem to include any for sick babies. On rare occasions a machitun (a shamanistic ceremonial) is performed over the sick baby. "Mothers cannot bear to hear a baby cry," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "If one persists in crying, the father comes and asks for a remedy. I usually suggest that the mother refrain from eating highly spiced foods, and I give him herbs from which to make decoctions.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in 841
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278] and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after the three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Panguipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 50 years in the area told that along the beach of Panguipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 298

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by noncontamination. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bambillo apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

755 herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

757 Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of hardier plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

● 278 757 The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepúe area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Avellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in grazing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Chileans had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

—— Chillüm, collected close to brooks in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

—— Chukürí, found in pastureland. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Esparto, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Fucsia, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Lingue. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Malva del monte, grows along the edges of running water. "If a person who is indoors sweats, so that his head is damp, and then stands in a draft, he will find that his ears close up, his eyes feel watery, and his head feels big. Well, then he should squeeze the juice from the roots of the malva del monte onto his scalp and face, and tie up his head. He may have to apply fresh juice several times before his head feels better.'

——— Ñukiñ. The plant is heated, pounded, and put directly on a boil.

Palqui, found near creeks. Burns are overlaid with its leaves. The juice of its pounded stems and bark is taken orally for rash.

Pañil, collected on the beach of the Pacific Ocean. "It is used to produce vomiting, when a wrong thing has been eaten."

Parrilla, found in burnt-over woods. A decoction of its leaves is drunk for dysentery; a poultice of them is applied to swellings.

——— Padwe, collected in dry wooded land. "Tie a twig on the bare skin wherever the pain is. My sister had it tied on her back, and it helped."

Pillopillo, found in swamps. Its pounded stems and leaves are put into a little piece of cloth and laid upon an aching tooth. "It helped my little brother."

Quilmay, found in the moist edges of brooks. Leaves and bark are pounded with salt and the juice put into the cavity of an aching tooth; the juice without salt is put into an aching ear.

Quilquil, found in brooks. Its pounded leaves and stems are applied to burns. The juice of its leaves and stems is taken orally for heart trouble.

Romaza, found in swampy lands in deep ravines. Its leaf is placed directly on a boil or any swelling; reduces either.

——— Wilki kachu, found on dry land. Its decoction is drunk for dysentery. It is pounded with kernels of wheat into a poultice and applied to ulcers.

——— Wadawe. A decoction of its leaves relieves a sick stomach; the juice of its leaves taken orally relieves arthritic pain in the hands. (The plant is also used as a love charm. Cf. p. 137.)

My inability to obtain Araucanian names for the following three plants on the Coastal Range (only Spanish names were known to informants) leads me to infer that their medicinal value was learned from Chileans and is not part of the traditional Araucanian pharmacology.

Huella, found on shores of running brooks. Water in which the bark of its twigs has lain for an hour is drunk to reduce fever.

Trisca, found in dry cut-over lands. The juice of its pounded leaves is taken orally to cause vomiting after eating to excess.

Yerba del chavalongo, found in moist soil. A decoction taken orally reduces fever. Its juice rubbed on the forehead relieves headaches.

Two plants, not identified botanically, both found in damp ground in ravines and low places in Alepúe area are the mawida (the juice of its pounded roots is drunk for stomach trouble) and the püllalfill-kuñi (the informant would tell only that a lukewarm decoction of its roots and leaves was taken orally).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

278 757 Plants used for medicinal purposes in the valleys of the Andes (Panguipulli and Coñaripe) were:

Arrayán. The juice of its leaves is applied to sore or injured eyes.

Canelo. Its leaves are heated, salt pounded into them, and then laid on a boil to bring it to a head.

——— Chañichañ, found in swampy ground. "I cured my hiccoughs with it."

Helecho grande. A decoction made of it reduces severe fever. "It is especially good for children; no harm can come to them from drinking it."

——— Kərakuŭ. Its fumes are inhaled by both children and adults after a severe chill. The person is seated on a low bench and near him is set a dish with several hot stones on which leaves of kərakuŭ have been placed. He is given a mixture of water and urine in a cup, stoops over the heated stones, and then he and the dish are completely covered with a blanket. He pours the urine and water over the leaves and breathes deeply. Should he feel faint or find it difficult to breathe, "he is allowed to bring his nose and mouth from under the cover, but not his body."

——— Mañiú. Its inner bark and leaves are boiled to a condensed solution and gums and teeth are washed with it. It is believed that mañiú hardens the gums and maintains them in sound condition. "I washed the teeth and gums of all my children with it, and none of them has lost a tooth."

Ortiga menor. A decoction made of it is taken for heart ailments. A preparation of its roots mixed with culén, also known as albaquilla, is taken orally for typhoid. "When my four boys had typhoid, I gave them a decoction of these two plants; they were very sick. All got well, but one lost all his hair; for a time he was completely bald."

Palo negro. Its ashes are laid on itch or rash.

Saúco del diablo, found on shores of rivers. Today a decoction of it is taken to relieve a sick stomach. "I believe, formerly, fumes were made of it. I once saw an herbalist put hot stones into a wooden dish and place the dish near a sick person [indicated near feet, with knees in flexed position]. Then she covered the dish and the sick person, except the head, with a blanket. She raised the blanket a little and put some herbs, I believe trarumanəll, on the hot stones."

Toronjil. A decoction of it and culén reduces fever. "It is very refreshing, and is cooling to the heart." (Informants knew no Araucanian name for toronjil.)

MENTAL ILLNESS

158 Psychoses among the Araucanians are very rare. It is believed, as noted earlier, that kalku and certain machi have power to bring mental illness upon individuals. A teacher explained to a boy, who claimed the spirit of sickness had been put into his sister by a machi, that his sister had died of pneumonia; that instead of coming to school she had spent the school hours outdoors in the rain for a week. "I admit that she did that," agreed the boy, "but that boy's family [pointing at a boy] hired a kalku to make her crazy—she stayed out in the rain because she was crazy." In the early days insanity is known to have resulted from starvation.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home. 583

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pollpoll were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wodawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenagwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wañókintuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257). 832 278 [756]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiukü (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as choñchoñ, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the choñchoñ sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant
● [278] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 In Coñaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who
215 lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

844 maqui;[3] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery,
278 she was given a decoction of kanchan l'awen (unidentified) and frutilla. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

844 The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

845 Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist: this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

[3] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 845

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall. 844 [171]

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse. [278]

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used. 846

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy."

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries."

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a wekufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

755 759 they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

755 The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

757 Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy [826] of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martín de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

278 757 The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies. Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

278
757

Apio. The juice of its crushed leaves is drunk in hot water to reduce fever.

Cizaña. A decoction of its stalks and leaves reduces fever. "This has great strength; use only a small amount of it."

Crochilla (unidentified). The upper layer of its leaves is peeled off and the pulpy oozing side is poulticed against forehead and temples to cure a headache. Dried leaves are replaced by fresh oozing ones until the headache is cured.

Fucsia. A decoction of its flowers relieves a headache. To cure a rash, a decoction made of the entire plant is drunk and the affected parts bathed in it.

Limpia plata, a parasitic beardlike plant that grows on trees in Chile. "People go over there [from Argentina] to get it." A decoction of it relieves abdominal pain.

Llantén or siete venas, popularly known as rat's ears, found in pastures and other dry land. A decoction of its roots reduces coughing. Sap of its leaves and roots is applied directly to open wounds. To obtain the sap, leaves are heated directly over the fire; the roots are cut fine, put into a little bag, and laid into hot ashes until well heated. Both leaves and roots are then squeezed by hand to obtain the sap.

Llinto or amancay. The crushed plant taken in a decoction relieves intestinal disturbances.

Maqui. Powder made of its dried leaves cures eczema. A decoction of its dried berries relieves kidney and bladder pains, and ends diarrhea.

Natri. When taken as a decoction it alleviates stomach ache and reduces fever.

Nenco. The body, when rubbed down with a decoction of the entire plant, is relieved of aches.

Paico. A decoction of its powdered roots when drunk ends vomiting and cures a stomach ache.

Pañil. A decoction of its leaves relieves adults in every sickness; children, more especially of stomach aches. It soothes open wounds when poured into them.

Paramela, found in pastures. Its crushed stem, leaves, and flowers are put on open wounds, such as cuts. A decoction of it cures stomach ailments.

Parrilla and nalca. A decoction made of leaves and stems of parrilla and of roots of nalca is taken orally to alleviate pain in the kidneys; a decoction of the roots of nalca alone reduces fever, such as that of pneumonia.

Pasto de tres cuntos. A decoction of the entire plant is taken when one is sick without localized pain.

Peleo (an unidentified mint, "with leaves a little smaller than those of orégano"). A decoction of its leaves relieves stomach ache.

Quilloy, found in humid places. A decoction of it relieves headache; the juice of its crushed leaves reduces fever.

Quiñal (unidentified). The plant grows on stones along the edges of lakes; it has few leaves and thick roots. Its juice is taken orally for heart disease and fever.

Retamilla or lechuguilla, a tall plant found in high altitudes. Used for seven sicknesses, among them lung infections, stomach troubles, and liver ailments. "It cured a woman here, not long ago, of a lung infection."

Roble chileno. A decoction of its core—"you know its heart is red"—is given to one thought to be bleeding from internal injuries, "like a man upon whom chest a tree has fallen."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

278 Soya. To cure sore eyes, leaves stripped of outer layers are poulticed below, above, and to the side of the eye.

757 Toronjil. Any stomach ailment is relieved by a decoction of it. "We sometimes call this plant malba; in Chile it is called toronjil cuyano."

Unfermented apple juice is taken as a blood purifier.

For sore throat, an unidentified plant is cooked in a small amount of water until it forms a thickened concentrated substance. This was applied deep down in the throat with the first two fingers.

NOTE: Juices are extracted from plants either by scraping or pounding them; by crushing them in the palms of the hands; or by rubbing them by rotating the palms, one over the other, with a circular motion; or mashing them with the fist of one hand in the palm of the other hand. Powder is obtained by pounding dried plants between stones. (See Appendix B for other plants used by the Araucanians.)

Curative household measures not related to plants are the following:

A burn is overlaid with a wad of wool saturated with blood from a slight incision made in the comb of a chicken.

Kerosene is poured into an open wound.

A thin slice of meat, slightly heated in the fire and rubbed in with salt, is applied to a bruise, "including a blue eye."

Mother's milk is dropped into a newborn baby's eyes and into sore eyes of older children and adults.

A broken arm or leg is tied between straight slender branches of a tree.

Formerly, the meat of a dog, not yet a year old, was eaten to cure stomach ailments. Stomach troubles were also alleviated by drinking water containing the scrapings of blue stones, "the ones that fall during a thunderstorm." "My mother has two of these stones, very dark blue ones, which she used in this way."

The bile of any large animal mixed with clear water taken orally brings a boil to a head.

Bad blood thought to be due to sickness is let flow through a piercing made in the upper layer of the skin of the person's hand.

A 65-year-old man had wound red yarn around his painful wrist. "I saw a mestizo Argentine do this, south of here where we were shearing sheep. Since it gave him relief, I thought I would try it."

No remedy for toothache was known. An aching tooth was pulled—"but we seldom have a toothache. My daughter there [14 years old] and my son [25 years old] have never had a toothache. I [85 years old] had my first tooth pulled recently—it was a loose tooth. I loosened it by stretching leather. We [281] stretch leather by holding it taut with the teeth and pulling it with both hands." Eating meat raw is thought to keep teeth intact.

No remedy for goiters is known. "Not even the remedies used by the Argentines help us. Formerly we had no goiters." Persons with goiters—men and women of all ages and adolescent boys and girls as well—were seen in all areas visited.

Water was dashed into the face of a frightened, breathless child. If this did not cause the child to breathe, the mother put her mouth upon the child's and forced her own breath in and out of the child's lungs. (Cf. also pp. 280-281 for treatment of sick children.)